

PEACE NEWS

No. 364

JUNE 4, 1943

24.

T. Corder Catchpool shows that the policy of

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER ensures DEATH, not Peace

The knock-out of 1919 was a failure; and the taunt of wanting a "patched-up peace," flung in those days at anyone who urged that reason and agreement were better than dictation, has rather lost point. Yet the paralysing mesmerism of victory-mindedness has again crept over the people, and even we pacifists sometimes give the impression that, as nothing can be done about it, the only thing is tacitly to acquiesce. I will never acquiesce.

TWO elderly gentlemen sitting in the sunshine at Casablanca passed the sentence "unconditional surrender." They were not saving the world, though that is generally supposed. They were perpetuating the old fallacy of trying to solve human problems with unconditional force.

"Out there is war," they said to each other, and they planned to extepd and intensify it, telling their young heroes that many of them were about to die. If asked for what, they said, their first reply would be "for my country." Goering had just told his young millions exactly the same thing, giving the same reason for their sacrifice.

Those two words at Casablanca are echoed back from over the Atlantic, where the Canadian Premier adds a rider "to strike at the enemy's heart, exact total surrender on German soil"; they re-echo in Moscow, where, says a leading daily paper, "There is no suggestion now that Russia's objectives are limited to defence. For Russia, as for Britain and America, unconditional surrender of her enemies is the only possible conclusion to the war." Those sinister reverberations toll the death-knell of millions of lives, perhaps the doom of hopes for a better world.

The Price of Victory

But, if you do not acquiesce in total victory, are you not forced to acquiesce in the massacre of the Jews, Nazi domination, and the betrayal of Poland, whose territorial integrity we made war to ensure? Without the accident of Russian aid, which was Hitler's doing, not ours, the gamble of arbitrament by force would probably have failed. Moreover, it now appears that betrayal of Poland's territorial integrity is the price of military victory. Force has its "Munichs" at the cost of the smaller peoples, as well as the much-denounced "appeasement."

By way of compensation, Russia offers Poland a post-war military alliance directed against "the common enemy"; and requires the States of S.E. Europe to acknowledge her hegemony as "Leader of the Slavs." Poland officially demands "large access to the sea and a frontier with Germany sufficiently extended to the west, straightened and shortened to secure Europe against a new German aggression"—euphemism for a super-corridor problem of the future.

Czech policy is to turn three million Sudeten-Germans out of Bohemia, "that battle-ground par excellence of the Germans and the Slavs," and so perpetuate a second Alsace-Lorraine. Germany has no colonies; but those of Italy and Japan, partly acquired as reward for supporting "our side" last time, are to be taken away now they have backed the losers. All desire for aggrandisement is repudiated, as before, but "mandates" will again be in demand, and talks are being broadcast under the title: "Red on the Map."

A high Belgian official urges that "when the Allies are masters of the fate of Germany and enjoy unrestricted powers . . . the agreement following unconditional surrender should include a formal recognition of guilt by the defeated"; and the US Assistant Secretary of State "pins the guilt on all Germans." The three Axis Powers are to be "rigorously excluded" from whatever form of inter-

national control may be set up after the war "for a long trial period"; and their unilateral disarmament is universally regarded as the sine qua non of any "settlement," for only "overwhelming force" can keep the conquered peoples down—a patched-up peace indeed! Thus the mistakes of 1919, especially those of a political and psychological nature, seem all too likely to be repeated.

Jews Suffer by War

Coming to the Jews, it is war that has intensified the tempo of persecution to the point of extermination. Most of the victims could have been saved, given willingness on our part to make the necessary sacrifice. Their rescue before the war was hindered or prevented by the niggardliness of asylum-countries. Even now, a leading daily paper writes that the Bermuda Conference "has only nibbled at the problem . . . in the upshot it was nearly a fiasco."

"Prosecution of the war to force the unconditional surrender of the Axis" is again a principal cause of the

A READER sends us the following verse, which he found had been exhibited in a church porch in Lewes, Sussex, throughout that town's "Wings for Victory" week.

"WINGS FOR VICTORY" To Our Lady

*When on some crowded Axis town
Terror and death are raining down,
Mary, amid the piteous cries
For your protection which arise,
May there be one forgiving prayer
For us who send the bombers there.*

famine disaster which is overtaking whole peoples on the continent. Whilst invasion by the Axis Powers is rightly blamed, blockade is increasingly held responsible by the sufferers themselves. "More good will be done for these unfortunate people by putting in the first place everything which would bring about victory," said Lord Dawson of Penn, presiding over a recent conference on the famine situation at the Royal Institute. But few of the victims will believe there was no other way of helping them. Thus, more and more, war holds the future in the inexorable grip of its own ruthless consequences.

The Way to Peace

The accusing judgment of posterity will apportion a large measure of responsibility for the deaths of millions of young soldiers, and of civilians marked for death by bombing, famine, or extirpation, to the gambling of these lives against the "glory" of complete military victory.

When Spain offers to mediate in "seeking a just and fraternal peace, not on a basis of aggrandisement," press and politicians howl down any response as a betrayal of the "sole objective of the United Nations—unconditional surrender," just as they shouted "Hands off the war!" to similar offers in 1917. A Member of Parliament, asking that any peace proposals or offers of mediation be made known to the House of Commons, meets with a categorical NO! Spain's motives are suspect, yet the closing words of the offer: "Only peace reached in such a form will be lasting, will satisfy the desire which so many millions have for it," pass beyond the plane of political wisdom to that of profound truth.

The whole world is longing for peace, except, apparently, the Anglo-Saxon countries that have been spared much suffering and are fast succumbing to the sadistic satisfaction of "going all out for the kill in Europe."

There is no release from the moral obligation to urge the offer, before the holocaust of the second front, of just and equal terms for all, to be framed by and for the younger generation of every people.

If the new world of our noblest dreams were offered now, with the energy for saving life that is being given in the war-effort to destroy it, and if offered with faith in spiritual victory for all mankind equal to that now misplaced in the forcing of unconditional surrender by one half upon the other—that offer would be welcomed.

A SLOW START

THE Peace News Headquarters Appeal has begun slowly. No doubt it will gather momentum. But do not let us be too long about it.

It may not be clear to all members that Peace News Ltd. has undertaken new obligations towards the PPU. It is financially responsible for all PPU literature publications.

This means that the direct contribution of Peace News to Headquarters will be diminished. It is up to us to make up this deficiency. The sooner we reach our goal of £400 the better for the peace of mind of our devoted Treasurers.

Total to date: £16 5s.

THE EDITOR

Please send contributions, plainly marked "HEADQUARTERS FUND" to Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

Must It Begin Again ?

THERE is a lull in the land war. Will the devilish storm soon break loose? Who is going to begin? Are the Russians this year going to wait till the Germans show their hand? Or are they waiting till the British and the Americans have begun an invasion of Europe? Is there any really concerted plan of action between the British and the Americans on the one hand and the Russians on the other? Or are the British-Americans waiting for the Russians, and the Russians for them, and the Germans for both?

Dear reader, I do not know the answer to these questions. My mind insists on putting them: insists the more because I feel there is something queer about the present situation. Everybody seems to be waiting for somebody to begin a land offensive. If only they would go on waiting long enough: until it occurred to them all that it might be as well not to begin at all. That is the thought that used to recur to me in the far-off-days of the "phony" war. It was futile then. Is it futile now?

Speculation

THE days of "phony" wars are over. Now the lull must bear another name. For the pounding from the air is unceasing and constantly intensified. If the Germans really have it in their power to reply to the British-American air-bombardment, and are holding back their strength, then two conclusions seem to follow. First, that German morale is very markedly higher than we are encouraged to believe; and, second, that somebody is in for it—whether the British-American invading force, or the Russians.

But if the Germans are unable to

PACIFIST COMMENTARY EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

reply through lack of strength in the air—well, it is a bad look-out for them: for, when all the exaggerations are allowed for, there seems no reason to doubt that the British-American rate of production of aircraft is overwhelmingly superior to the German. If the Germans are now unable to reply effectively in the air, I presume they will be almost completely impotent one, two, or three years hence. Will they wait for that? I cannot believe it. They will make a gambler's throw against Russia. Thus, both lines of speculation suggest that the lull will probably be broken by Germany herself.

Mr. Jinnah's Politics

MR. Jinnah, of the Moslem League, sometimes appears to my naive mind to be about the most unscrupulous politician extant. But perhaps distance—and the censorship—distort him. I was under the impression that Mr. Jinnah, in a recent speech, invited Mr. Gandhi to communicate direct with him. The Government (he said) would not dare to stop the letter. Since Mr. Gandhi long ago expressed his willingness to meet Mr. Jinnah, and Mr. Jinnah refused, I naively concluded that this was a step forward. Shortly after, Mr. Gandhi wrote Mr. Jinnah a letter expressing the wish to meet him. The Indian Government refused to forward the letter. That seemed very foolish. But I was prepared for it.

What I was not prepared for was

a violent attack by Mr. Jinnah upon Mr. Gandhi. - He said:

"Mr. Gandhi's wish, vetoed by the Government of India, could be construed only as a move on Mr. Gandhi's part to embroil the Moslem League to come into a clash with the British Government. Merely expressing his desire to meet me is not the letter that I suggested in my speech that Mr. Gandhi should write. The Government of India would not dare to stop a letter which intimated that Mr. Gandhi was willing to come to a settlement on the basis of Pakistan" (N. Chronicle, May 28).

So the letter which Mr. Jinnah suggested Mr. Gandhi should send was a letter conceding the full Moslem League demand. Mr. Jinnah maintains that Mr. Gandhi quite deliberately misunderstood him. That may be. But Indian politicians are even more bewildering than English ones.

The Comintern

THE dissolution of the Comintern has been the centre of debate during the week. Many superficial articles, and a few penetrating ones have been written about it. The two best that I have read were those in The Economist (May 29), and in Forward (May 29). The former contained an excellent historical account of the operations of the Comintern; the latter, by Emrys Hughes, had a sub-acid flavour which was particularly refreshing after the stupid complacency of the average commentary.

I believe The Economist is quite mistaken in thinking that the dissolution of the Comintern is "without doubt one of the greatest events of the inter-war and war years." On the contrary it is an event without any dynamic significance whatever: it merely registers a fact. Emrys Hughes is never the mark:

"Down with the Fascist dogs! is a slogan

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Education and Work

A RECENT issue of the Christian News-Letter (May 19) is wholly concerned with the education of youth. The magnitude and urgency of the problem are not generally appreciated, even by pacifists. How many realize that at the end of the school term in which they reach their 14th birthday, 85 in every 100 of British children go to work—the work of an 8-hour day, instead of the 5½-hour day at school? The first necessity is to make the problem real to the imagination. Dr. Oldham truly says:

"We talk of 'the adolescent,' or of 'youth,' but to scores of families in which school to eighteen is the accepted rule that vast hordes of children hurrying through the dark streets long before upper-middle-class breakfast time are a shadowy unreality. Only when they suddenly come before our imaginations as real children is our will to change things made resolute."

But how to change them? It is only dubiously relevant to approach the problem as an issue of "conscription." The statistics of the registration of 16-18's have revealed that, "even when national service activities, such as Home Guard or ARP were added to those which could be deemed in the widest possible sense as educational," only half the total number in the group partook in these "educational" activities.

It is, therefore, something less than candid to oppose the para-military education of youth without putting forward some positive alternative. The simplest alternative of all is, of course, the continuance of compulsory education till 18 for everybody.

But its simplicity is misleading. It is foolish to talk of education in vacuo. We have to ask: Supposing those 85 children out of every 100 were really to have four more years of education, what would they be educated for?

At this point, more vague terms are often introduced into the discussion. There will be, for those unlikely to profit by a general humanistic education, "vocational" training. But where and what are the "vocations"? Carting round the morning milk, ticket-punching on a bus, performing mechanical processes at the conveyor-belt, packing the innumerable things that come to us in containers: education to 18 for the boys and girls who are to be plunged into these "vocations" must be education to do something more interesting, or it cannot be education at all.

The root of the trouble lies in the condition of things in which education and work are discontinuous, indeed opposed to one another. A man's or a woman's work should be the chief means of his education: and work which contains no educative potentiality is drudgery. Most of it now is. That is the condition to which uncontrolled industrialism has brought us.

At this point, another facile solution is often propounded. Not industrialism but capitalism has done the damage: socialist industrialism will be quite different; under it, men will understand that their particular work, although it may be uninteresting, is necessary to society. A saint might understand: ordinary men will not. They will be frustrated still, and seek release for their frustration in war.

We shall have to think a good deal harder—harder even than the Christian News-Letter. For that, though it makes a good beginning, comes to a bad end and avoids the blunt truth of the matter: which is that industrialism requires that the majority of its children should become robots and hobbledehoes; slaves of its own machines, or fodder for the enemy's.

LETTERS

Mediation

BEING in a modest way a political historian as well as a pacifist, I rush to take up "Observer's" challenge about Franco's peace initiative. Of course, much relevant information is no doubt concealed from me, and in what I suggest I may not be wholly within strictly pacifist terms of reference.

His record suggests that Franco is anxious for peace in the interests of the Axis, and as one who objects at least as much to promoting Axis aims as to promoting Anglo-American domination, I must without hesitation reject the offer as it stands, but hasten to take the opportunity to put forward counter-proposals. Let us put forward our own peace proposals, these to be as unlike those of the Wardlaw-Milne group as is consistent with their being reasonably acceptable to both sides as a basis of discussion. Let us agree to an armistice immediately upon the Axis signifying its willingness to discuss our proposals. Let us stipulate that they are to be discussed by German and other Axis representatives equally with our own. Let us, for our own part agree to as strong a set of guarantees as can be got that the discussion shall be carried through to a peaceable conclusion. That all this bristles with difficulties is no reason for not acting on such lines.

Further, and as a guarantee of good faith, let us guarantee forthwith, whether or not the proposals are accepted by the Axis, to cease night bombing unilaterally. As we appear from now on to be able to do more destruction by this means than the Axis, there is not much risk of the Axis disagreeing or refusing to profit by our example. I don't put this proposal forward as either particularly logical or specifically humanitarian, but as a relevant gesture more likely to be accepted than most. Oddly enough, I expect some of my pacifist friends to be among the first to disagree. They seem to think there's something wrong in trying to humanize war. I don't. Politically speaking, we don't any of us know how to do without war in international relations. So we might as well accept as many humane restrictions about it as we can.

M. GAYTON

Bourton Grange,
Flax Bourton, nr. Bristol.

Machinery and Morals

The issues which I raised in recent articles in Peace News go much deeper into the defects of modern civilization than is apparently envisaged by the letters of Mr. Boyd and Mrs. Spooner. Those defects are so fundamental that they are imperilling not only democracy but the whole future of society. Because of their profound importance I am in process of writing further articles on them, which I hope will find their way into Peace News. They cover the issues raised by your correspondents except the one, answered in your footnote to Mrs. Spooner's letter.

WILFRED WELLOCK

12 Victoria Av., Birmingham 32.

Badges

Since joining the PPU we have noticed that many of its members do not wear their badges. Are they aware that this in itself is giving people outside a bad impression of the Union?

A man in a position of authority has said that we do not wear our badges because we realize the Union and all it stands for to be a failure. We feel this to be an injustice to our cause and would like to know if any defence can be made for travelling incognito.

ANNE WHITEHEAD
MABEL R. WOOD

Derby Training College,
Elvaston Castle,
Thulston, Derby.

on the Armistice Campaign

SO many letters have been received on the question of the PPU Armistice Campaign (and particularly on John Middleton Murry's article of a fortnight ago) that it is impossible to publish more than the following representative extracts.

I cannot understand why the statement of positive social and economic principles should take so much preparation. Surely they are stated in the first sentences of the Affirmations. I suppose the difficulty is to formulate the principle so as to be understood by the 'general' (Miss F. Elinor Parker.)

The positive social and economic principles following from the Pledge and the four Affirmations are already implied in those statements, and the pamphlets in which the Affirmations are developed. They stand as basic principles which must be associated with any campaign we undertake: applicable to all campaigns and all propaganda.

We go forward with the principles we have already grasped: e.g., we have already a corporate mind in attaching supreme importance to the human person. War denies that. If this were the only principle we had got, is it not sufficient to start campaigning for an armistice preparatory to a peace based on that principle? We believe it is (Henry Hilditch, on behalf of W. Midlands Area).

Many of us realize that there is greater likelihood of an armistice being made for bad reasons by men whose interests are much narrower than the welfare of mankind in general than there is of an armistice inspired by the nobler aims of the four Affirmations. Even so, it seems to me that we must, as pacifists, accept and welcome this prospect and strive to make that "a process from which good may emerge." To argue that the movement is demanding that the positive economic and social principles must first be formulated before the campaign can be launched is to exploit the agreed shortcomings of AGM machinery and needlessly complicate the issue (Charles Hamer).

NO POSTPONEMENT INTENDED

Mr. Murry would have been better advised to have addressed these queries to the new Armistice Committee and only if they had been unable to answer them satisfactorily, to put them direct to the movement. The London Area amendment was not in the least intended to postpone the campaign *sine die*. . . Speaking personally, we can say that we intended "the statement of positive social and economic principles" to be a rough description of the world we want and

not of the world we are likely to get after the war.

The amendment made it clear that we thought these principles could be hammered out from the four Affirmations. Take, for example, our belief in the supreme importance of the integrity of the individual. Is it not clear from that that we stand for a state of society in which privilege and the right to exploit is removed? Surely we cannot have a society where the integrity of the individual is respected if ownership of the land or the means of production is in the hands of a few individuals. Nor is mere nationalization necessarily going to introduce the real change we require: in its own way, Nazi Germany has "nationalized" land and industry. What the pacifist must stand for, surely, is real common ownership (Bernard Taylor, G. Pitcock-Buss; mover and seconder of London Area amendment).

END WAR FIRST

Your article is very timely. The only bed-rock for the pacifist is that war, for whatever cause, is Hell; and no social reforms, economic or humanitarian, can have any permanency until war is relegated to a childish past (E. C. Williams).

Mr. Murry's article will confuse and bewilder. The advocacy of an Armistice is by no means the same thing as that of a negotiated peace. Nor need it involve pacifists in the relativities of politics. I take it that for a pacifist an armistice should mean quite simply a cessation of hostilities without conditions on either side, and on the basis of the status quo (C. D. Stainton).

Pacifists must seize on any attempt to end the war but must dissociate themselves from diplomatic manoeuvres to assist the military advantage of belligerent Powers. To avoid misunderstanding, pacifists cannot limit themselves to a simple stop-the-war demand. The pacifist case against war must be constructive and realistic, and is admirably stated in the new pamphlet issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board (Ronald Huzzard).

It is important to remember that what is uppermost in men's minds is not the war, nor what is happening to Greece or India, but simply WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN TO ME AFTER THIS WAR. Any campaign, whatever its purpose, if it does not take this question into account, and answer it in a satisfactory manner, would be so much wasted effort, and doomed to inevitable failure from the start. An Armistice Campaign will be suicidal for the PPU unless it is identified with a policy which will offer the hope of peace and security to all men, whatever their class, creed or country who are at present engaged in this ruinous and wasteful slaughter (Leslie Wilson).

ATTEMPTING THE IMPOSSIBLE

I must protest against the resolution passed at the last AGM giving the Armistice Campaign precedence over all other activities of the movement. Whilst I am prepared to take the risk of having any kind of armistice now rather than the continuation of a futile slaughter, I cannot by any stretch of imagination see how this campaign will be attended by sufficient success to really justify it being given absolute priority of place in our activities. As I see it, it is attempting the impossible. At this present stage of the conflict it is something we just cannot do. Let us face that fact even if regretfully.

(W. Winstanley).

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

of which Roosevelt and Churchill can cordially approve. Something has been buried—but something is waiting to be born."

Communists and Liberty

IN March, the National Council for Civil Liberties convened a conference against Fascism and Anti-Semitism, on the ground that both these movements are a menace to civil liberty. As I read the report of the conference in the May number of "Civil Liberty," the organ of the NCCL, I could not help wondering what would have happened if one of the delegates had proposed that Communism should be added to the movements protested against—on the ground that it is equally a menace to civil liberty. Would the speaker have been given a hearing by an audience nominally devoted to civil liberty?

I smell a horrid rat in Communist enthusiasm for civil liberty. And it does not need an ultra-sensitive nose, either. How can Communists believe in civil liberty as a principle? It is surely impossible without giving up the Communist creed. Does civil liberty exist in Soviet Russia? Would civil liberty exist in England if the Communists were to gain control? From the civil liberty point of view Fascism is bad; Anti-Semitism is bad; and Communism is bad. On this score there is nothing to choose between them. And the NCCL ought, as a matter of intellectual honesty, to make this plain.

Challenge to Communists

OR has Communism changed its political philosophy? It has changed so often of late that it is hard to keep up with it. Now

that Stalin has dissolved the Comintern, Communism in England may have turned over yet another new leaf.

But the vehemence with which the News-Chronicle (May 25) backs the Communist demand for affiliation with the Labour Party is highly peculiar. One would have expected the organ of Liberalism to ask whether the Communists have abandoned the distinctive maxim of their political creed—that State-power should be seized by minority-violence. If they have abandoned it, why on earth do they not say so?

I will ask them plainly: do they, or do they not, repudiate violence in seizing power and terrorism in retaining it? Until they have done so it seems preposterous that the organ of one democratic party should advocate their being admitted to another—unless the News-Chronicle has the definite purpose of discrediting the Labour Party.

Assured Nazis' Triumph

THE Manchester Guardian (May 27), I am glad to see, holds more firmly to Liberal principles on this matter:

"The British Communists are now thrown back on themselves as an independent political party. This does not mean, however, that they are any more a democratic party within a democratic State than they were before. . . In the light of its history since 1920 it is hard to see that the Communist Party can say with sincerity that it can accept the Labour programme and principles so long as it maintains a belief in the necessity of a Soviet system for Britain, in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and in the repudiation of Parliamentary democracy."

Who can forget that, right up to 1935, the

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Communists in every European country were engaged mainly in attacking all Democratic Socialists? They called them "social fascists" and had no compunction about co-operating with the real fascists in discrediting Parliamentary government everywhere. More than any other single party, the Communists were directly responsible for the triumph of Nazism in Germany, by their unremitting and successful efforts to disrupt the working-class movement.

Russia 'Destroyed Democracy

SO much is common knowledge. For myself, I would go further. In my opinion the deliberate employment of violence and terrorism by the Bolsheviks in the Russian revolution opened the floodgates to the political savagery which has been the curse of Europe ever since the last war. The Russians have their reward. They have created a new huge militarist power, which will play an increasingly dominant part in the power-politics of the world.

But the final ordeal in which this instrument has been forged—the Nazi-Communist war—was largely caused by Russia herself. Had the Russian revolutionaries eschewed violence and terrorism, there would have been no Nazi triumph in Germany. Had Russia taken the more difficult path of democratic socialism, she would have been a bulwark of democracy throughout the Continent. Instead, her influence precipitated the downfall of democracy everywhere. And whatever the new Russia may be, it will not be a democracy: but a new and tremendous force making for totalitarianism.

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WORDS OF PEACE-23

THE LITTLE FLAME

It is not history which teaches conscience to be honest; it is the conscience which educates history. Fact is corrupting—it is we who correct it by the persistence of our ideal. The soul moralizes the past in order not to be demoralized by it. Like the alchemists of the middle age, she finds in the crucible of experience only the gold which she herself has poured into it.

Our only talisman lies in that concentration of moral force which we call conscience, that small inextinguishable flame of which the light is duty and the warmth love. This little flame should be the star of our life; it alone can guide our trembling Ark across the tumult of the great waters; it alone can enable us to escape the temptations of the sea, the storms, and the monsters. Faith in God, in a holy, merciful, fatherly God, is the divine ray which kindles this flame.

Amiel's Journal, 1851.

Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

(Continued from page 2)

Pacifism and Politics

David Kennedy (PN, May 21) is as mistaken to imply that the only pacifist alternative to negotiation is submission as to suggest that there is a fundamental difference between pacifist and non-pacifist politics. This second misconception arises, no doubt, from the negative role which he assigns to politics: refusal to resist an invading army follows almost naturally from a belief that, at the best, political action can only be palliative. Fortunately, the view is not universally accepted, and the power of the good political system to induce the right response from its citizens was the theme of social philosophers before the doctrine of political submission was thought of. "The limitation of politics is not, as Kennedy suggests, 'that the essential change . . . must be made as individuals'; rather does it spring from a failure to accept the Platonic wisdom that in order to become a completely ethical being a man must become a conscious political being also, that the good life can only be achieved 'in society'; when pacifists come to accept that truth they will have adequate incentive to resist an invading army which is threatening a political system they believe worth defending.

DONALD PORT

London, W.C.1.

COMMENTARY

(Continued from page 2)

Equity in Russia

IRONICALLY, the newspaper correspondents, in their anxiety to prove that Russia is no longer to be feared as the hotbed of international Communism, are providing some truly astonishing information about the actual condition of society in Russia. Consider this, for example:

"The Red Army soldier is paid only 104 roubles a month, rising to 24 if he is a chauffeur, and 130 if he is an NCO. Pay is doubled for service in the front line, and doubled again if he is in a Guards unit. A rank-and-file soldier gets few privileges; there is no leave, and his wife gets no maintenance money, although 60 roubles a month is allowed for each child.

"On the other hand an officer's pay begins at 600 roubles a month when he enters training college and rises to 900-1,300 (according to branch of service) when he is commissioned. It may then rise up to 1,700 for a captain and 2,400 for a full colonel. Senior officers have an additional 20 per cent. increase for each ten years' service.

"The discrepancy between the pay of officers and men, which may seem excessive to men of the civilian armies of the Allies, is not considered inequitable in Russia." (Godfrey Blunden; E. Standard, May 27).

Greatest Military Autocracy

I HAVE not space to quote verbatim from the equally informative article by Paul Holt in the Express (May 31). He tells us that the one ambition of Russian parents is to get their boys into the military training colleges. It is not surprising when we understand that the novice military cadet gets 60 times the pay of the ordinary serving soldier! Nor is it surprising that the military colleges have the pick of all the promising boys throughout Russia.

But the nature and trend of a society so organized is plain. It is to be the greatest military autocracy the world has even known. German militarism is almost trivial in comparison with this. And our idealists talk comfortably (e.g. The Observer, May 30) of the United Nations being united by the deep desire to keep the peace. How can a nation so militarized as Russia is now desire to keep the peace? You cannot train the flower of a nation for war, and give the corps of officers such an overwhelmingly privileged position, without making them eager to exercise the professional skill in which they have been trained, and to justify the privilege with which they have been endowed.

I wrote last week, before the new information had reached me: "The fact that Russia has become a huge National Socialist State, embracing one-sixth of the world, is not the less formidable because it corresponds with Mr. Churchill's idea of what Russia ought to be." I wonder now whether Mr. Churchill is so pleased as I thought then.

REVIEWS

Practical Steps to Peace Making

Pacifist Techniques. By Charles F. Titford. Peace Pledge Union. 6d.

THE methods of making peace in the modern world call for the same kind of careful thought and study that the responsible people devote to ways of waging war.

In his introduction to this pamphlet Mr. Titford reminds us that the war-makers "are not content to talk vaguely about 'making some guns and things' or 'using force to compel the enemy to give in,'" and asks: "Can we hope to achieve peace or conduct a 'Peace Campaign' (as distinct from a peace propaganda campaign) by a less intensive effort?"

Mr. Titford deals with three tasks which he considers the most important among those confronting pacifists:

- "1. To meet a direct act of compulsion, i.e., of aggression.
- "2. To aid in bringing to a conclusion an existing, open conflict between two or more parties.
- "3. To effect a change in existing conditions or relationships without resort to compulsion."

It is in the first of these that recent discussions of pacifist technique have usually centred. Mr. Titford's treatment of it includes certain criticisms of Mr. Gandhi's methods with which—as Dr. Alex Wood anticipates in his foreword—some pacifists will be in disagreement.

To them it will seem that Mr. Gandhi is in fact applying the technique which Mr. Titford himself recommends: positive action to exhaust the aggressor's ill will, followed by "further appropriate action to set relationships on a peaceful basis."

But a divergence of view on this point need not affect the usefulness of his pamphlet as a guide for discussion and study. Mr. Titford brings us to matters which we have hardly begun even to discuss when he turns to the other two tasks.

It is strange, for example, that methods of "resolving a conflict" should not have engaged more attention within the PPU. Our own internal differences of view have given ample scope for experiment, but our experience has not so far resulted in the evolution of any new way of resolving them—such as happened within the Society of Friends.

In this pamphlet it is suggested that the job of a peace-maker is patiently to build an agreement on whatever element of common interest exists between the two sides.

In this process the author envisages two techniques working in combination: those of what he calls "Mid-actor"—or intermediary who would ascertain the views, and keep in contact with, each side; and the "Formulator"—the third party who would give a strictly impartial judgment on the issues involved. These two techniques would be employed to whittle away differences, and thus build an agreement by stages, before the parties to the dispute meet in conference; "for the less that is left to the conference other than the formality of signing, the better."

This has much to recommend it, in view of the desire of combatants not to "lose face" and thus at least to appear unconciliatory; though it is conceivable that on some occasions (especially between States) the role of "Midactor" might have to be shared by two intermediaries.

Dealing with the task of "peaceful change" Mr. Titford emphasises the importance of disentangling for appropriate treatment the several subsidiary problems we may find within any one complex problem of social life. Here, too, a "Formulator" has a part to play in separating the basic from contributory and incidental problems as a preliminary to action to effect the required change without compulsion.

Groups discussing this pamphlet will be able to exercise their minds in trying to decide how an imaginary problem cited by Mr. Titford might be solved without compulsion. He draws, incidentally, a distinction which we may have allowed to become blurred between "active, practical steps as distinct from demands for 'something to be done.'"

J. W. C.

Readers who saw the War Resisters' International's last publication, entitled "Breaking Down Barriers" and distinguished by a medley of foreign stamps on the cover, will be interested in some of the letters from the envelopes that bore those stamps. These are published under the title "Letters Coming Through the Barriers" by the WRI, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex.

The Quakers - from a new Angle

The Quakers. By Otto Zarek. Andrew Dakers, 10s. 6d.

HERE is a book outlining the history of the Quaker movement, not, this time, by an adherent of it, but by a German refugee who has a sympathetic interest in it. The story is told therefore from a new angle, and there is a considerable historical background, which serves to emphasize the long struggle of the Friends to live their own lives in the light of the principles in which they believe. The relation between the early Friends and the other Nonconformist groups is also dwelt on at some length.

Probably the passages in this book which will be of the greatest interest to non-Quaker pacifist readers will be those dealing with Fox's bold rejection of war.

It was indeed puzzling to his contemporaries to find him refusing to "fight for freedom," with Cromwell's army, against all the evils of the Stuart régime which was threatening England again. He was only just released from prison and he was begged by his admirers to lead them in this struggle in which he must surely wholeheartedly take Cromwell's side, unless he were secretly a supporter of the monarchy.

Yet he refused. "It was the first rejection of war as an instrument, the first bold and clear repudiation of the idea that murder can be sanctified by an end, even by the highest ends, the truest ideals."

In this refusal Fox is still a leader for us today; the circumstances are strangely parallel. That he was justified in his realization of the "intrinsic unworkability of [Cromwell's] ambitious attempt to safeguard and establish eternal ideas by the use of force" became quickly apparent, as the Protector was obliged to institute fresh persecution of the Quakers, because there was a danger to him, at the same time as he proclaimed freedom of conscience.

THE QUAKER STATE

Otto Zarek contrasts the characters of Fox and Penn, his illustrious follower: Fox the uncompromising preacher, Penn the believer in compromise to obtain high ends. What a great vision and splendid attempt it was to found a Quaker State where Quakerism could be lived out unhampered, and an example given to the whole world of the benefits of righteous government!

The story is always thrilling and always tantalizing. For Penn achieved so much and came so near to success, and then was defeated by his own followers, to whom, faithful to his high principles, he had entrusted so much power rather than keep it arbitrarily in his own hands. Our author shows, however, that despite the obvious failure, there remained a very great influence on American life, less spectacular but immensely valuable.

The effort to found a world of their own making had to be renounced. The Friends had to return to the less ambitious and always difficult, way of living as strangers and pilgrims in this world still unready for the great Christian ideal.

MANY CRUSADES

Later chapters tell of some of the other crusades in which Friends have taken a leading part. Their dependence on the "Inner Light," the voice of God in their hearts, has shown them, time after time, the evil inherent in some common practice of their times, and has led them to ceaseless efforts for reform. It has led them, too, to speak their minds of the authorities who have power to alter conditions, even if this authority were as distant as were the Sultan and the Pope in the seventeenth century.

The Friends held that their religion was no new one, and William Penn showed this in the title of one of his pamphlets—"Quakerism, a New Nickname for Old Christianity."

It is a great pity that the book is largely devoid of references. The interested reader cannot tell where to read further on any subject, nor whether the books he wants are hard to get, or cheap to buy. But it is to be hoped that there will be many interested readers, grateful for this scholarly and readable version of an old story.

A. RUTH FRY

Justice. By L. W. Grensted, M.A., D.D., Fellowship of Reconciliation (17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.). 4d.

An examination of the chief obstacles to clear thinking about justice. The word itself "is heir to three different acts of meanings"; the "conception of impersonal justice . . . a curious blend of a truth and a falsehood: the survival of idealist absolutism, which sets up justice as making claims upon us in its own right"; and notions of divine justice which forget that "God is Love, and all justice that is true to God's purposes must in the end be conformed to that love." Not a pamphlet for superficial reading; it will help pacifists to get their minds clear at a time when the name of justice is being increasingly taken in vain.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

★ PPU HEADQUARTERS, ★

Dick Sheppard Hse., Endsleigh St., W.C.1

The Development Secretary Reports

I was originally offered the use of this column, once each month, to publish abroad the news of the movement. I strayed from this task, last month, so that I could introduce to your notice the new pamphlet "The Peace Pledge Union—How It Works." I return to my mandate with an encouraging piece of news.

During April the Areas sent to Headquarters the sum of £295, slightly more than the previous three months together. If this exceptionally good result can be maintained, then the Treasurers' "target" figures will be reached more easily than we had ever dared to hope.

I FEEL we sometimes become so absorbed in our local Group activities that we fail to see that many of our problems and our triumphs are common to other groups in all parts of the country. I want, if I can, using this column as one agency, to knit our whole movement into a unit, conscious of our diversity in approach and yet speaking with one voice on essentials.

It is for this reason that I was glad to receive, during the last few days, a detailed report of activities in Northern Ireland. As Groups sometimes complain if their Peace News copies arrive a day late, I think they will sympathize with our Belfast friends who never know, owing to the Censorship regulations, when the paper is going to arrive; sometimes it is as much as ten days late. Yet the Area more than carries on, and has just held a one-day conference and its 5th AGM in the Belfast Dick Sheppard Centre. The meetings were much better than any one had ventured to hope, and the discussion was distinctly lively. A great deal of effective work by the local Famine Relief Committee was reported, and at the evening session Professor T. Finnegan gave an inspiring address on "Our Task Ahead." Despite their isolation from the rest of the movement, our members in Northern Ireland struggle on gamely. Would your Area have been able to give as good an account of itself in similar circumstances?

During the last month I have been informed of three new Groups, at Cuffley, Frating, and Llandoverly, and one new Contact Member, at March. The addresses are: Mr. A. E. Smith, 2 Kingswell Rise, Cuffley; Mrs. M. Tomlinson, Frating Hall Cottages, Frating, nr. Colchester; Mr. T. Jones, Little Hall, Llandoverly; and Mr. C. P. Barnes, 24a Darthill Rd., March.

Will any members interested in starting a group at Bacup, please contact Mr. J. Newell, "Hey Meadows," Edenfield, Ramsbottom, Manchester?

From June 7 to 13 I shall be visiting groups in the Devon and Cornwall Area.

Albert E. Tomlinson

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised). Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased cost of postage.

a pamphlet for study!

PACIFIST TECHNIQUES

by Charles F. Titford

with an introduction

by Alex Wood

Price 6d. (post free 7d.)

The P.P.U. BOOKSHOP,
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street,
London, W.C.1.

10,000 C.O.s IN U.S.A.

THE latest available statistics of conscientious objectors in the USA are the following, taken from the New York Post, Feb. 12:

Drafted to non-combatant army service, 6,500; drafted to Civilian Public Service, 3,500; estimated number of COs among 2,325 men jailed for draft violations, 1,400, at least half of whom are Jehovah's Witnesses; rate of convictions, about 300 per month.

"In addition, three former members of the staff of the Conscientious Objector, quasi-official newspaper of the pacifist groups, were jailed because their views also were not considered the result of 'religious training and belief'—the standard set up in the Selective Service Act for CO men."

The same day's New York News quoted Abraham Kaufman, Executive Secretary of the War Resisters' League, as confirming these figures and as stating that three times as many COs have been jailed in this war as in the last.

Police Court procedure is fully explained in a revised edition of CBCO Broadsheet No. 10, which is obtainable from the Central Board, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, price 1d.

Because she refused on religious grounds to do fire-watching duties, (having been registered by the local authority after her conviction for failing to register herself), Barbara M. Gates was summoned at Ipswich on May 24. She admitted that she had not complied with the enrolment notice, but pleaded that on the wording of the Compulsory Enrolment Order she could not be enrolled for duty until she had subsequently to her conviction, given the necessary particulars (a view shared by the legal advisers of the Central Board for COs). She was, however, found guilty and fined £3.

Although Second-Lieutenant R. C. Stevenson, of Putney, was court-martialled in Feb. at Chelsea Barracks for an offence arising from conscientious objection and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, he was deprived of the right to appeal to the Advisory Tribunal by the fact that officers must be cashiered before being imprisoned. Following representations by the Central Board for COs, however, the authorities arranged that, being a person now liable for national service, he should be provisionally registered as a CO by the Ministry of Labour. Accordingly he sent in his application to the Local Tribunal from Wormwood Scrubs Prison, and appeared at Fulham on May 27. After the facts had been stated, the tribunal adjourned the case for a report of his court-martial to be obtained.

When Dorothy Hudson (26), of Eccleshill, Bradford, was before the Bradford stipendiary magistrate (Dr. F. J. O. Coddington) on May 20 for refusing to attend for an interview under Section 80B, following her refusal to register on conscientious grounds, he said (according to that day's Bradford Daily Telegraph and Argus):—

"You are enjoying yourself and making yourself a martyr, no doubt. But you are not a martyr. You are just being silly! It is with great regret that I must send you to prison where you will have the pleasure of meeting with all the prostitutes and thieves who are there. You will go to prison for one month in the second division." Dorothy Hudson is a member of Shipley PPU Group.

New and interesting:
C.O.s HANSARD No. 14 (6d.)
June, 1942—April, 1943, 6d.
BROADSHEET 10 (1d.)
Police Court procedure (revised)
C.B.C.O. BULLETIN (3d.)
For May—a few copies only
Postage extra in all cases
C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

THE BOMBING OF THE DAMS

"A Particularly Fine Achievement"

says one Church Paper, reflecting the judgment of most people in this Country.

But Would Jesus Christ So Describe It?

Those who feel the Church should now withdraw its support from war are asked to write to

THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP.

1, Adelaide St., London, W.C.2.

New "Peace Aims Pamphlets"

THE FUTURE OF GERMANY

H. N. Brailsford, P. Gordon Walker, Dr. H. G. Wood, Rev. Henry Carter.

10d.

WHEN THE FIGHTING STOPS

G. D. H. Cole 5d.

THE FOUNDATION OF ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

Prof. John M. Murray 5d.

Full list available

NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL Ref. PN)

144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

Police Stop India Demonstration

FIFTY-THREE men and women—nearly all members of the PPU—were stopped by the police in London on Saturday afternoon, when they took part in a poster parade organized by the Indian Freedom Campaign in order to advertise the Trafalgar Square demonstration held that afternoon.

Two days earlier five well-known members of the PPU and the ILP had taken part in a preliminary parade. This was not stopped, although the police took the names of the paraders and stated that proceedings might be taken against the organizers.

In a letter to Fenner Brockway, chairman of the Campaign Committee, the Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison, upheld the Commissioner of Police's interpretation that a poster parade was a political procession under Defence Regulation 39E, which gives the Home Secretary power to ban all such processions in the Metropolitan Police area.

It was decided to go ahead with the

parades because the Campaign Committee felt that this was an issue of civil liberty which should be challenged. The paraders themselves were prepared to take the risks involved.

As each parader left the Campaign offices at 8 Endsleigh Gdns., he was stopped by a police official and asked to remove the posters. When he refused he was asked to give particulars of himself, told he would be reported, and the posters were cut down and confiscated.

Some paraders decided to start elsewhere, but only a few succeeded in parading nearly to the Square.

The demonstration itself was attended by about 5,000 people. The speakers were James Maxton, Ethel Mannin, W. G. Cove, Fenner Brockway, Dorothy Evans, Howard Whitten, and Walter Padley; Sybil Morrison was chairman.

The crowd was reminded that the question of the freedom of India was one which only they could solve. With the Congress leaders in gaol and unable even to write to other Indian leaders, the whole responsibility for solving the deadlock rested on the British people.

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OR NEGOTIATION?

CORDER CATCHPOOL, who deals on the front page with the futility of the policy of unconditional surrender, was a conscientious objector in the last war and described his experiences in his book "On Two Fronts." He spent a number of years between the wars in Germany. He is hon. sec. of the Bombing Restriction Committee. The quotations in his article are from the daily press.

One hundred and twenty-eight copies of the 6-page issue of Peace News featuring Patrick Piggis's "Armistice Campaign" article were sold as a result of an augmented street selling in the centre of Birmingham on May 26. There were 17 sellers, a number of whom were selling for the first time.

Next Thursday Sybil Morrison is to address a public lunch-hour (1.15) meeting at 8 Ends-

THE NEXT P.N. PAMPHLET

will be a factual survey by Roy Walker of the working of food-relief schemes in this war.

Such information will be of great value to those supporting the demand of the PPU Food Relief Campaign for an extension of food-relief schemes.

Supplies of the pamphlet will be sent to Peace News distributors with the issue dated June 18 (No. 366); alterations to standing orders for these pamphlets should reach the Peace News office not later than Friday next, June 11. The pamphlet will contain 8 pages; price 1d. (9d. a dozen).

CHARGES: 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra).

CASH must accompany copy, except for series bookings.

LATEST TIME for copy to be received: ordinarily Monday, but for issue dated June 18, SAT., June 12.

ACCOMMODATION

BOARD urgently sought in Finsbury Park, Highbury, Holloway, or central part of N. London, long stay, young man vegetarian. D. Harris, 10 Adolphus Rd., N.4.

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McGrath and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 8888, 8 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION required about last week Aug. for two ladies with three children (13, 12 and 1 year) 50-100 miles London. Box 893 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION required by young man (pacifist) end Aug., preferably West England. Full details; all replies answered. Box 906 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION WANTED Welsh coast two weeks Aug., pacifist couple and boy aged three. Box 912 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

HOUSE, BUNGALOW, or Flat required from August, between Harlow and Cambridge. State details and inclusive cost. Mallone, Harlow College, Essex.

WANTED Camp site for E. End lads, within 25 miles E. London. Kingsley Hall, Bow, E.3.

WANTED UNFURNISHED, detached cottage or bungalow, good garden, country district nr. Bristol. To rent or buy. Box 898 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.8.

FREEMOUNT, Bacton, Hereford. Progressive education and communal home from 5 years in lovely estate parkland. Individual care and tuition, modern health principles, own produce. Katherine Young and Peter Young M.A. (Camb.).

FOR SALE & WANTED

ANYBODY SELL frame type rucksack, filled sleeping bag, li-lo, cheap, C.O. on tramp. Old clothes welcomed. Box 911 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

BELL TENT, Full-size stormproof, complete, 12 guineas. Oak bookcase, £14. Bryan, 18 Lansdowne Rd., Croydon.

COLLECTOR purchases stamp collections, stamped correspondence before 1880, obsolete unused stamps. Hooper, Painscastle, Builth, Brecon.

LAMB BRAND RIBBONS. Cleanest, clearest, longest; 3s. 6d. each, postage paid; 10s. three; 18s. 6d. six. Name typewriters, colours. Hardman and Sons, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex.

LAND & COMMUNITY

C.O., 28, small capital, anxious to contact another, view to partnership in market garden or small farm. Box 904 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LAND & COMMUNITY (Cont.)

TENANCY of small farm (Mid-Wales), including tools, horse-drawn implements, part of farmhouse furniture, growing crop, good cow and calf, few sheep, poultry, £250 inclusive. Farm cottage also available. Box 907 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

VACANCY for man in market garden community. Gloucester Land Scheme. Hempstead, Gloucester.

LITERATURE, &c.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION, the New Subject for the New Era. Send 2s. for three 64-page handbooks. The Order of the Great Companions, Hertha's Chapel, Meopham Green, Kent.

PRELUDES. 32-page wartime anthology, presenting 10 new poets 1s. 1d. post free. Opus Press, Wood House, Cholesbury Rd., Wigginton, Tring, Herts.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

UNIVERSALIST PAMPHLETS. "Jesus and World Today," by Dr. MacGregor Reid. "Spiritual Leadership of Jesus," by Dr. Van Shaik. "They Kept the Faith," by Rev. Arthur Peacock. 1s. 2d. from Universalist Press, 57 Cavendish Rd., S.W.12.

MEETINGS, &c.

DEVON AND CORNWALL AREA. First visit of Albert Tomlinson (Secretary, National Development Committee). Rally of all P.P.U.-ites (group members or unattached), Friends' Meeting House, Exeter (opposite Eye Infirmary, Magdalen St.), Sat., Jun. 12; tea (bring own eatables) 5.45 p.m.; meeting 6.30 p.m. During Area tour, Albert hopes to visit Bideford, Camborne, Penzance, Plymouth, St. Ives, South Molton, Truro. Details of meetings (date, time, place) from local Group Leaders or from Steele, Bickleigh, Tiverton.

JAMES HUDSON and Duke of Bedford, Friends Hall, Lancaster, 7 p.m., Sat., Jun. 19. Few seats at 1s. Tom Rhodes, 55 Parkfield Drive.

PUBLIC LUNCH HOUR ADDRESS, Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1, Tues. Jun. 8, 1.20 to 2 p.m. "The New International Trade." Mr. Frederick Smith.

SOCIAL PRINCIPLES IN FORMATION. Peckham P.P.U., 41 Camberwell Grove, S.E.5, Tuesdays 7.45 p.m. June 8 discussion on social principles led by P. Bailey. June 15 The Social Creditor's Solution. We welcome contributions from all who are interested in discussing a set of social principles compatible with Pacifism.

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER or negotiation. Public lunch hour meeting, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., Thurs., Jun. 10, 1.15. Sybil Morrison: Chairman. Kenneth Sheppard. Central London Group of the P.P.U.

PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN, 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

GORDON YEOMAN, JOE STREATHAM. Will you please communicate with Harry Richardson (who met you at Wormwood) as he is anxious to get in touch with you. Box 910 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friendships. Stamp.

READERS interested in figures and mathematics, willing to correspond; exchange ideas, possibly meet if Sussex residents, please write Box 908 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

GOVERNMENT'S FOOD POLICY "MYSTERY"

THE problem of saving thousands in Europe from starvation was linked with the refugee problem, as "one that has a specially obvious moral import," in a leading article in the May 28 issue of the Catholic Herald.

"But whereas the scheme for controlled feeding of Europe would meet with little practical difficulty," said the article, "it is clear that all kinds of apparently unsurmountable difficulties stand in the way of effecting this deliverance of the persecuted."

"The attitude of the Government in this question is really a mystery," it continued. "Even if there were a real risk of the first deliveries of food being taken by the enemy (and the fact is that neutral experiments along the same line, e.g., in Poland in the earlier part of the war, were wholly successful, as they were on a much bigger scale during the last war) we have to set against an infinitesimal help to the enemy the immense moral gain of having proved the sincerity of our desire that our own friends' sufferings should be minimized."

leigh Gdns., W.C.1, on "Unconditional Surrender or Negotiation," under the auspices of the Central London Group of the PPU.

News has reached this country of a United Pacifist Conference, held in New York and reported in the New York Times, Feb. 21, at which the chairman, Dr. A. J. Muste, urged that Germany, Japan, Italy, USA, China, Soviet Russia, and Great Britain should send representatives immediately to a conference to end the war.

Represented at the conference were: Association of Catholic COs, Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, Campaign for World Government, Peace Fellowship, New Church Pacifist Fellowship, New History Society, Pacifist Teachers League, local Friends' Peace and Service Committee, Rural Co-operative Community Conference, War Resisters' League, and Women's International League.

DISPLAYED Advertisements. MAXIMUM space allowed: Three column-inches. LATEST TIME for copy first post Friday.

SITUATIONS VACANT

GARDENER-HANDYMAN and COOK required for refugee evacuee nursery under-fives, nr. Brecon. Suitable opening for married couple. Apply with copies references International Commission, 67, Brook St., W.1.

MARKET GARDENING and horticulture, couple, wife part time shop or nursery, man mechanically minded, able to drive. Scope for initiative. Morland, Nurseryman, Westbury, Sherwood School Community, Epsom (9125), requires teacher for Maths and General Science (Biology to H.S.C.); Board and small allowance.

WANTED COOKS, HANDYMAN-GARDENERS for small hostels in Northamptonshire catering for Land Workers. Good conditions. Also couples as joint Wardens. Apply Dept. LAB., W.T.A., Ltd., 49 Cannon St., London, E.C.4.

WANTED. Young assistant for small Market Garden nr. Taunton (Somerset). Good home with full board, pleasant surroundings, and pocket money. Apply Box 897 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

C.O., 21, desperately needs situation. Some writing experience, could teach. Preferably Kent. Box 909 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 25 (BAPTIST), married, seeks work on mechanized arable farm, with cottage, any county. Experience tractor driving, thatching, hedge-laying; good C.W.A.E.C. reference. Available end of May. Box 899 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST ACCOUNTANT, specialized preparation of farming accounts and all taxation negotiations with authorities. Box 905 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44).

WYE VALLEY. Guest house in own parkland of 150 acres. Homely atmosphere. Vegetarians and others catered for. From £3. "Lindors," St. Briavels, Glos.

MISCELLANEOUS

GROUP MEDITATION (London). Yoga and Heard-Huxley theories. Active proponents, write Bragg, Merville, 105 Tulse Hill, S.W.2

NATURE CURE INSTITUTE. Beware coming influenza plague! Sun-bathe, beautiful garden, 6 Lansdowne Cres., Glasgow. Sun supplies vitamin D, found in butter. Rigid correspondence treatment, all troubles; also young people's war, adolescent, love, marriage problems. Stamped addressed envelope. Katharine MacDonald, M.S.F., humanitarian pacifist, ex-Labour College tutor; assistant Robert Bridges, M.A., ex-school teacher, conscientious objector (now in jail).

NATURE CURE INSTITUTE. Working women of the whole world! Arise! Learn public speaking, Esperanto, economics, industrial history, journalism, suffragette movement. Wednesdays 7.45. Rigid correspondence treatment. Stammering, shock, paralysis. Stamped addressed envelope. Katharine MacDonald, M.S.F. (certificated Honours, elocution—Edinburgh—Glasgow Festivals). Assistant, Robert Bridges M.A., conscientious objector (now in jail). 6 Lansdowne Cres., Glasgow.

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